

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT ROBERT KEATLEY COLUMN, OP-ED PAGE
WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, APRIL 27, HEADED "THE
EROSION OF DETENTE."

2. THERE'S NO DOUBT THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE
DETERIORATING. POLICE AGENTS IN MOSCOW MAKE THREATENING
MIDNIGHT CALLS TO U.S. DIPLOMATS. HENRY KISSINGER BLAMES
THE RUSSIANS FOR THE DANGEROUS PRESENCE OF CUBAN COMBAT
TROOPS IN ANGOLA. CABINET-LEVEL CONFERENCES OF RUSSIANS
AND AMERICANS ARE CANCELED. PRESIDENT FORD DROPS "DETENTE"
FROM HIS POLITICAL VOCABULARY.

3. FAR FROM CLEAR, THOUGH, IS WHY THE SUPERPOWERS' RELA-
TIONSHIP IS CRUMBLING, AND WHERE THE PROCESS IS LEADING.
THERE'S NO CONSENSUS ABOUT WHETHER THE SYMPTOMS OF BREAK-
DOWN REPRESENT A BRIEF ABERRATION WHICH WILL END WITH THE
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U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, OR WHETHER THEY'RE SIGNS OF
PROTRACTED HOSTILITY AHEAD.

4. THE MOST WORRISOME INTERPRETATION IS THAT RELATIONS ARE

SLIPPING OUT OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS' CONTROL, THAT THE TWO

SIDES ARE SLIDING--BY ACCIDENT AS WELL AS DESIGN--TOWARD A RERUN OF THE COLD WAR. PESSIMISTIC AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND ANALYSTS OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS SEE DOMESTIC POLITICS IN BOTH THE US AND THE USSR, COMBINED WITH A LESS THAN RATIONAL CHAIN OF UNFRIENDLY ACTION AND REACTION, DRIVING THE TWO INTO SERIOUS POLITICAL CONFLICT.

5. "THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT ANGOLA AND WHAT MAY LIE BEYOND IT HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A CHANGE IN OUR RELATIONS," SAYS A SENIOR AMERICAN SPECIALIST ON SOVIET AFFAIRS.

6. "I THINK WE ARE IN DANGER OF LETTING OUR RELATIONS TAKE A CRITICAL TURN FOR THE WORSE," WARNS MARSHALL GOLDMAN, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S RUSSIAN RESEARCH CENTER.

7. WITHOUT CORRECTIVE MEASURES SOON, THE PESSIMISTS SAY, NEW DISPUTES COULD BLOCK PROGRESS ON ARMS CONTROL, TRADE AND ALL THE OTHER MATTERS BY WHICH DETENTE--THE EFFORT TO RELAX TENSIONS BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR GIANTS--WAS SUPPOSED TO CREATE A SAFER WORLD.

8. IF EVENTS JUSTIFY SUCH GLOOM, THERE ARE TRYING TIMES AHEAD. BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE AMASSED UNPRECEDENTED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER, AND BOTH RETAIN CONFLICTING GLOBAL INTERESTS. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE RUSSIANS ALSO HAVE (TO USE A CURRENT STATE DEPARTMENT PHRASE) BOTH "POWER AND REACH," OR THE ABILITY TO APPLY THEIR MIGHT FAR FROM THEIR OWN BORDERS.

9. YET THE TWO NATIONS HAVE ONLY STARTED, FEEBLY, TO TRY TO REGULATE THEIR STRENGTH AND PREVENT CONFRONTATIONS. ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS TO DATE, WHILE USEFUL, BARELY BEGIN TO BRING NUCLEAR ARSENALS UNDER EFFECTIVE RESTRICTIONS, WHILE COOPERATION ON MOST OTHER SERIOUS MATTERS REMAINS EVEN MORE UNCLASSIFIED

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LIMITED; ANGOLA IS PROOF OF THAT. THOUGH THEY SIGNED A DECLARATION OF GOOD INTENTIONS IN 1972, THE US AND RUSSIA HAVE NOT SET COMPREHENSIVE GROUND RULES FOR INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT.

10. COMPOUNDING THE PROBLEM OF KEEPING THE PEACE IS A RUSSIAN REASSERTION OF THE RIGHT TO PURSUE "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE," NO MATTER HOW COZY OFFICIAL RELATIONS MAY BE. THIS MEANS THE OBLIGATION--AN ALMOST SACRED ONE TO SOME COMMUNISTS--TO HELP MARXISTS AND OTHERS WHOSE AIMS, SUCH AS OVERTHROWING PRO-WESTERN GOVERNMENTS PARALLEL THOSE OF THE USSR. "DETENTE DOES NOT IN THE SLIGHTEST WAY ABOLISH, AND CANNOT ABOLISH OR CHANGE, THE LAWS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE,"

SOVIET COMMUNIST LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV SAID RECENTLY.

11. THIS POSITION HAS ALWAYS BEEN SOVIET POLICY, BUT IT HAS BEEN PLAYED DOWN SINCE 1972. NOW THE THEME IS BEING SOUNDED MORE STRIDENTLY, PARTLY TO DEFEND INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. HOWEVER, SOME U.S. EXPERTS BELIEVE WHAT MOSCOW CALLS CHANGES IN "THE CORRELATION OF FORCES" ARE ALSO INVOLVED. THIS SUGGESTS A SOVIET BELIEF THAT THE COMMUNIST EAST HAS GAINED ON THE CAPITALIST WEST IN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND THEREFORE CAN BE MORE ASSERTIVE OVERSEAS.

12. YET SO MUCH UNCERTAINTY CLOUDS SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS THAT SOME U.S. SPECIALISTS FEEL SERIOUS SHOWDOWNS REMAIN MORE A POSSIBILITY THAN A PROBABILITY. THEY DON'T BELIEVE MOSCOW HAS MADE A BASIC DECISION TO CONFRONT THE WEST MORE OFTEN; THE RISKS ARE TOO HIGH. TO THEM, KREMLIN LEADERS REMAIN A CAUTIOUS LOT, AND THE ANGOLAN INTERVENTION IS NOT THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE.

13. FOR EXAMPLE, ROBERT OSGOOD, DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, EXPECTS "THE CORE OF DETENTE" TO SURVIVE PRESENT TROUBLES. BY THIS HE MEANS A PEACEFUL EUROPE AND SOME RESTRAINTS ON NUCLEAR-ARMS EXPANSION, EVEN IF CURRENT SALT NEGOTIATIONS FAIL.

14. THOMAS WOLFE OF THE RAND CORPORATION BELIEVES RELATIONS WILL BE "COOLER" BUT ADDS THAT THE DESIRE TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR REMAINS AS STRONG AS EVER. "NEITHER SIDE WANTS TO GET BLOWN UP," HE SAYS, AND TERMS THAT AN "ENDURING" RESTRAINT ON BOTH.

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15. AND THE OFFICIAL RUSSIAN LINE IS THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS STILL "HAVE GOOD PROSPECTS." GEORGIY ARBATOV, MOSCOW'S SENIOR WASHINGTON-WATCHER, WRITES "THERE IS THE FIRM INTENTION TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES AND DISPUTES NOT BY FORCE OR THREATS AND SABER-RATTLING, BUT BY PEACEFUL POLITICAL MEANS."

16. HOWEVER, IT'S CLEAR RELATIONS HAVE SUFFERED, IN MOOD IF NOT SUBSTANCE, SINCE 1972 WHEN FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON WENT TO MOSCOW AND PROCLAIMED "A GENERATION OF PEACE." HIS ADMINISTRATION SPREAD THE IMPRESSION THAT DETENTE MEANT MORE THAN RELAXING TENSIONS BETWEEN TWO ADVERSARIES; MANY AMERICANS THOUGHT IT MEANT THE BEGINNING OF TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP. NOW THESE PEOPLE FEEL SWINDLED.

17. THIS REACTION CAUSES ONE GROUP OF EXPERTS TO SAY THAT RELATIONS AREN'T REALLY GETTING MUCH WORSE, FOR THERE HAD

BEEN LITTLE MEASURABLE IMPROVEMENT. THESE ANALYSTS CALL
BEEN LITTLE MEASURABLE IMPROVEMENT. THESE ANALYSTS CALL
APPEARANCES OF CLOSER COOPERATION SINCE 1972 ESSENTIALLY
SHAM, SPREAD BY MR. NIXON, SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSIN-
GER AND OTHERS WHO HAD POLITICAL OR OTHER REASONS FOR STRES-
SING OPTIMISM. NOW, THE SKEPTICS CONCLUDE, THE ANGOLAN
AFFAIR HAS RESTORED A SENSE OF REALITY; THEY EXPECT CONTIN-
UED IF CAUTIOUS SPARRING BETWEEN TWO SUPERPOWERS WITH
BASICALLY ANTAGONISTIC SYSTEMS AND AMBITIONS.

18. "WHAT HAS CHANGED IS THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THAT
RELATIONSHIP," SAYS RAY CLINE, FORMERLY A SENIOR U.S.
INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL AND NOW DIRECTOR OF STUDIES AT GEORGE-
TOWN UNIVERSITY'S CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES.

19. HOWEVER, THE SUPERPOWERS' RIVAL AMBITIONS, NOTABLY IN
THE THIRD WORLD, COULD PRODUCE NEW TENSIONS. ANGOLA SHOWS
THAT MOSCOW CAN BE WILLING TO USE ITS POWER WHEN OPPORTUNI-
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TIES ARISE. THOUGH MOST EXPERTS THINK THE SOVIETS WILL
REMAIN MORE CAUTIOUS THAN THAT AFRICAN EXPERIENCE WOULD
INDICATE, THE TEMPTATION TO SEEK INFLUENCE AT AMERICAN
EXPENSE MAY AGAIN PROVE TOO ALLURING TO IGNORE.

20. "THE SOVIET UNION HAS ACQUIRED OPTIONS IT NEVER HAD
BEFORE," SAYS A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL. "IT MUST WEIGH THESE
NEW OPPORTUNITIES AGAINST THE RISKS INVOLVED, AND MAKE
DECISIONS WHICH DIDN'T HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN EARLIER
YEARS."

21. FOR EXAMPLE, MOSCOW MUST DECIDE HOW DEEPLY IT WANTS TO
GET INVOLVED (DIRECTLY OR VIA ITS CUBAN MERCENARIES) AS
RACIAL CONFLICTS INTENSIFY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT MUST ALSO
PONDER HOW, OR WHETHER, TO COUNTER THE U.S. INFLUENCE IN
THE MIDDLE EAST. IT MUST CONSIDER WHETHER TO LET CUBANS
WORK AGAINST EXISTING REGIMES IN LATIN AMERICA.

22. SUCH MATTERS COULD EASILY CAUSE SERIOUS SOVIET-AMERICAN
DISPUTES, PARTICULARLY NOW THAT THE U.S. HAS PROMISED
RETALIATION IF CUBAN TROOPS INTERVENE ELSEWHERE. THE RESULT
COULD BE TO DERAIL WHAT'S LEFT OF DETENTE, ACCELERATE THE
ARMS RACE AND RAISE INTERNATIONAL CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE
NUCLEAR WAR.

23. SOME EXPERTS BELIEVE DETENTE BEGAN TO GO WRONG IN 1974
WHEN CONGRESS PASSED A TRADE BILL GRANTING THE USSR CERTAIN
CREDIT AND TARIFF CONCESSIONS ONLY ON CONDITION THAT IT LET
JEWISH EMIGRATION INCREASE. THE SOVIETS REJECTED THIS
CONDITION AS "DISCRIMINATORY." THAT EXPERIENCE, SOME
AMERICANS BELIEVE, CAUSED SECOND THOUGHTS IN MOSCOW ABOUT

THE BENEFITS OF DETENTE AND MADE OFFICIALS THERE MORE

SUSCEPTIBLE TO FOREIGN VENTURES WHICH RISKED AMERICAN
OPPOSITION.

24. MR. KISSINGER CONTENTS (AND LEADING ACADEMIC SPECIALISTS AGREE) THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL RESTRICTION DENIED THE U.S. SOME IMPORTANT POLITICAL LEVERAGE. THE SECRETARY SAYS POWER TO GIVE AND RETRACT TRADE BENEFITS WOULD HELP RESTRAIN THE RUSSIANS IN ANGOLA-LIKE SITUATIONS.

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25. THE NEXT BIG SETBACK FOR DETENTE WAS ANGOLA. MANY U.S. OFFICIALS BELIEVE THE SOVIETS GOT MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED, AND WERE MORE SUCCESSFUL, THAN THEY THEMSELVES EXPECTED. WHATEVER THIS EXPERIENCE MAY BODE FOR FUTURE SOVIET POLICY, IT HAS REVIVED OLD WASHINGTON DISTRUST OF MOSCOW, CREATED SUPPORT FOR A BIGGER U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET AND CAUSED GRAVE AMERICAN WARNINGS AGAINST A REPEAT PERFORMANCE--COUPLED WITH HINTS OF A VIOLENT U.S. RESPONSE. "IT IS TIME THAT THE WORLD BE REMINDED THAT AMERICA REMAINS CAPABLE OF FORTHRIGHT AND DECISIVE ACTION," SECRETARY KISSINGER WARNED RECENTLY.

26. SINCE JANUARY, BECAUSE OF ANGOLA, MR. KISSINGER HAS CLAIMED TO BE MAKING THINGS AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE FOR THE RUSSIANS UNTIL THEY MODERATE THEIR COURSE. BUT HE DOESN'T HAVE MUCH LEVERAGE AND IS RELUCTANT TO USE WHAT LITTLE THERE IS. THUS THE EFFORT IS MORE VERBAL THAN TANGIBLE, WITH RESULTS HARD TO FIND.

27. YET, AS HE ASSERTED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE LAST WEEK, THE U.S. HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO TRY TO CURB SOVIET EXPANSION WHILE ALSO SEEKING NEW PEACEFUL AGREEMENTS. "THE BASIC NECESSITIES WHICH WE PERCEIVE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, OF REGULATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, REMAIN, AND THEREFORE THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE DUAL POLICY WHICH WE HAVE EMPHASIZED IN RECENT MONTHS, THE SECRETARY SAID.

28. ON BOTH SIDES, AN ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION AND APPREHENSION HAS REPLACED ONE OF GRAND EXPECTATIONS. YET MOST EXPERTS--EVEN THOSE WHO FEAR THE WORST--AREN'T READY TO CONCLUDE THAT SOMETHING FUNDAMENTAL HAS GONE WRONG IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. THEY SUSPECT THE RUSSIANS ARE AS CONFUSED AND UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHAT COMES NEXT AS ARE MANY AMERICANS. (END TEXT.) SISCO

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